

CHAPTER IV

GENERAL SOCIAL CUSTOMS

843 *Birth.*—During pregnancy a woman had to observe carefully certain restrictions. She was not allowed to roam the woods alone for fear of meeting snakes or other animals, the sight of which was believed to forebode ill luck to a pregnant woman. She was not permitted to have dogs or cats around her nor to sleep during the day. Every morning during her pregnancy she had to take a cold bath. Among the restrictions may have been food taboos, but no information on this phase of the subject was obtained.

844 When the time for delivery came, it was the custom for the woman to occupy a small lodge erected especially for her use. None of her male relatives were permitted to be present and her husband was not even permitted to stay at home. He was supposed to travel continually until the child was born, in the belief that by his movements he would help his wife in her delivery. According to one informant the husband had to hunt game, the supposition being that this procedure on his part would cause his wife to have enough milk for the child. This traveling of the husband was called, therefore, "Looking-for-milk." It was considered improper for a woman to cry out during labor pains, and by doing so she subjected herself to the jeers of her elder female relatives. The cradle-board was always made before the child was born (pla. 41, c, 42, s).

The positions commonly assumed by women in delivery may be described thus: Supported by the arms, which were passed over a pole held in the crotches of two forked sticks driven into the ground; suspended between two stakes; or flat on the back.

The infant's navel string was cut off and sewed into a small bag, which was attached to the head of the cradle-board.

844 On the birth of a child the sisters of the husband were supposed to show his wife especial marks of courtesy. They always gave her valuable gifts, such as goods or a pony. They were glad that he had offspring, the people said, and even permitted their brother's wife to give the presents received from them to her own relatives. The presentation of these gifts was called "Cradling-the-infant." Gifts were presented also to the wife's brothers.

844 Some time after the birth of a child, if a boy, the father always gave a feast to Earthmaker and thanked him.

Namra.—A newborn child received a birth name immediately. 551
There were six such names for male children and six for female children, which were given according to the order of birth:

Male	Female
1. K'u'nu.	1. Hi'nu.
2. He'nu.	2. Wi'nu.
3. Ha'nu.	3. Aki'u (generally pronounced Aki).
4. Na'gal.	4. Hi'nungk'.
5. Naxixad'nu.	5. A'xixad'nu.
6. Naxixom'nik'a.	6. A'xixom'nik'a.

The meanings of these names are unknown to the present Winnebago, who reject the idea that they ever had any meaning apart from indicating the order of birth. Originally, of course, these names had meanings, but at the present time they resemble no other Winnebago names and baffle all attempts at interpretation. This is not surprising, because they represent in all probability archaic names which undoubtedly have been considerably modified through long-continued use. The Dakota have a similar set of names but only four in number. The two additional names among the Winnebago indicate by their form that they have been derived from one of the other four. In this connection it is interesting to note that the fifth of the male names is, as one might expect, merely the fourth name of the series with the addition of a diminutive suffix, whereas the fifth of the female names is the third of that series with a like addition. The sixth name of each series is formed by adding another diminutive suffix to the fifth name. [71]

A few words may not be out of place here with regard to the relation of the male to the female series, and to the possible interpretation of two of the female names. He'nu' of the male and Hi'nu' of the female series, it will be noted, differ only in the first vowel. A similar phenomenon is found in such relationship terms as ki'wipk, male child of elder brother, and ki'wupk, female child of elder brother. Remembering that in those Siouan languages which distinguish between female and male oral stops the difference often consists merely in the change of a vowel, this difference between He'nu and Hi'nu may be suggestive. The name K'u'nu may be connected with k'e'wipk, "a grandmother," in which k'e is unquestionably the stem, meaning probably "old." In the female series there is a possible relationship between Hi'nu and Hi'nungk', as k' seems to be a very common ending in relationship terms. Hi'nungk' itself is identical with the word for "woman" and it seems hard to imagine that it is not the same, especially since it is also found as the relationship term for female child of younger brother. [60]

* Hi'nu is also the name for a man's elder sister.

867 My son, never abuse your wife. The women are sacred. If you
593 abuse your wife and make her life miserable, you will die early.
562 Our grandmother, the earth, is a woman, and in mistreating your
776 wife you will be mistreating her. Most assuredly will you be abusing
our grandmother if you act thus. And as it is she that is taking
care of us you will really be killing yourself by such behavior.

867 My son, when you keep house, should anyone enter your house,
574 no matter who it is, be sure to offer him whatever you have in the
house. Any food that you withhold at such a time will most assuredly
become a source of death to you. If you are stingy about giving food the
people will kill you on this account. They will poison you. If you hear
of a traveler who is visiting your people and you wish to see him, prepare
your table for him and have him sent for. In this manner you will be
acting correctly. It is always good to act correctly and do good, the old
people used to say.

867 If you see an old, helpless person, help him with whatever you
888 possess. Should you happen to possess a home and you take him there,
he might suddenly say abusive things about you during the middle of the
meal. You will be strengthened by such words.

[778] This same traveler may, on the contrary, give you something that he
carries under his arms and which he treasures very highly. If it is an
object without a stem,* keep it to protect your house. If you thus keep
it within your house, your home will never be molested by any bad
spirits. Nothing will be able to enter your house unexpectedly. Thus
you will live. Witches, instead of entering your house, will pass around
it. If, in addition to possessing this medicine, you also fast, your people
will be benefited by it greatly.

867 Earthmaker made spirits up above and some he made to live on
773 this earth; and again some he made to live under the water and
776 some to live in the water; and all these he put in charge of something.
Even the small animals that move about this earth the creator put in
charge of some power. Thus he created them. Afterwards he created us
human beings and as he had exhausted all the powers to be disposed of
we were not in control of anything. Then he made a weed and placed it
in our charge. And he said that no matter how powerful are the spirits
that exist they would not be able to take this weed from us without giving
something in return.

[276] He himself, Earthmaker, would not be able to demand it for nothing.
So he spoke. This weed was the tobacco plant. Earthmaker said that
if we would offer a pipeful of tobacco to him, whatever we should ask
of him he would immediately grant. Not only he, but all the spirits
created, longed to have some of this tobacco. It is for this reason
that when we fast and cry piteously for some spirit to take pity on
us, if we give them tobacco they will bless us with those

* A plant without a stem, presumably some root, used for working off charges.

If you ever get married, my son, do not make an idol of your wife. ⁸⁶⁷
The more you worship her, the more will she want to be worshipped. ⁵⁶²
Thus the old people said. They warned the young men against the ⁵⁸¹
example of those men who always hearken to what the women say. ⁵⁴³
who are the slaves of women. Often they would speak in the following manner: "You have had many warnings, but it may happen that some day you will not pay any attention to them. Then, when they call upon you to take part in the Winter Feast you may perhaps refuse to go. When a war party is leaving you may listen to the voice of your wife and not join them. Thus you will be as one who has been brought up as a woman." Men of every description do what is demanded of them, you alone do not act as a man should. ^[558] You never perform a man's deed. If you were to go to a Winter Feast, you would be handed a lean piece of meat." Why should you subject yourself to the danger of being made fun of? A real brave man, when he goes to a Winter Feast, will receive a deer's head, while you will only receive a lean piece of meat. That is all they will give you to eat. It will stick in your throat."

My son, if you keep on listening to your wife, after a while she will never let you go to any feast at all. All your relatives will scold you and your own sisters will think little of you. They will say to one another, "Let us not ever go over to see him. He is of no help to anyone." Finally, when you have become a real slave to your wife, she might tell you to hit your own relatives, and you would do it. For these reasons, my son, I warn you against the words of women. Steel yourself against them. For if you do not do so you will find yourself different from other men. It is not good to be enslaved by a woman.

My son, this also I will tell you. Women can never be watched. If you try to watch them you will merely show your jealousy and your female relatives will also be jealous. After a while you will become so jealous of your wife that she will leave you and run away. First, you worshipped her above everything else, then you became jealous and watched her all the time, and the result will be that she will run away from you. You yourself will be to blame for this. You thought too much of a woman and in worshipping her you humbled yourself, and as a consequence she has been taken away from you. You are making the woman suffer and making her feel unhappy. All the other women will know of this, and no one will want to marry you again. Everyone will consider you a very bad man.

* He may mean a husband, but it is far more probable that he merely means to call him a woman, as he is sufficiently great.

* A man who has distinguished himself as a warrior is always invited to eat the head of the animal, offered at the Winter Feast. These next in distinction are given the fat pieces of meat, and the lean pieces—the Winnebago, the poorest—are given to those who are of no importance.

* I. e., the meat will stick in your throat, because you will feel so much ashamed of yourself.

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REZ. JOURNAL SOCIETY BASED ON BLESSINGS

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Description of buffalo dance and its origin.—Informant, member of Bear clan: The buffalo dance can be given by anybody who has been blessed by the buffalo spirits. In the beginning the Winnebago had animal forms, and they could obtain all the power they wanted, but since they left that stage of life they can obtain power only by fasting. John's buffalo feast is of recent origin. It originated with his grandfather. 776 575 [787]

A long lodge is prepared and in the center there is a pile of loose dirt. John's grandfather's name was Hodjanaga, Young-man-just-maturing. In fasting he found out that he was blessed with powers to cure the sick and be victorious in battle. While fasting, the spirits told him that he would receive what he was longing for. They told him that he would know what to do, for they would come after him. Soon they came after him and took him into camp (i. e., spirit country). When he got there, he saw an old man and a child, and he was told that it was on account of the child that he had been brought there; that the child had heard his prayers while fasting and had blessed him. Then they showed him a certain herb and told him, "This is what we give you. It will give you strength in running. Use it in time of war, and use it also as medicine for life. I have blessed you and given you what you desired and do you, in turn, make me a dog feast and give me red feathers, tobacco, and food." Then they taught him the songs and gave him a buffalo tail and a flute. 796 575 787

No invitation sticks are used. They go around and invite those whom they want. 796 575

When the grasses are well developed, then the Buffalo clan people make a feast to their life or clan; also in midwinter, for that is the time when all the spirits awaken from their night's sleep and turn over on the other side. [203]

SOCIETY OF THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN BLESSED BY THE GRIZZLY BEAR

Informant, member of Bear clan: The grizzly-bear dance was given by those who had been blessed during their fasting by the grizzly bear. Women were never so blessed, and for that reason they never could participate in the dance. Different people received different blessings. We were blessed with two grizzly-bear heads, grizzly-bear hides, and paws. In the lodge constructed for the dance was placed a mound of earth called ma-warap'uru. The ma-warap'uru is supposed to represent a bear's cave, the four points of the cross representing the entrances to the cave and the four lines running to the center, the paths along which the grizzly bear travels when he hunts a man. The place in the middle is supposed to be the habitation of the bear himself. Tobacco and red feathers are placed both in the center and at the four points. 796 575 [203] 787 [782]

Radin]

THE CLAN WAR-BUNDLE FEASTS

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things with which you blessed grandfather Djöbenagwi'xga. That we ask of you." 796^x
539^x
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776

Offering to the Morning Star.—"You who are above, Morning Star, our request is that you bless us with that with which you blessed grandfather Djöbenagwi'xga. Tobacco and food and a buckskin offering we are about to send you."

Offering to Earth.—"Grandmother Earth, you also added your power to the spirit bundle that grandfather Djöbenagwi'xga made. The powers Earthmaker put you in control of, and with which you blessed grandfather Djöbenagwi'xga, those we ask of you. Tobacco, soup, and a buckskin offering we are about to send to you and the request that we make of you, is war power and life."

Offering to the Water-spirit.—"Water-spirit, grandfather whose body is of water," tobacco, food, and a buckskin offering for mocassins, we are about to offer you. I and my relatives desire to lay our hands on war and life."

General prayer to the spirits.—"Grandfathers, we have probably been very remiss in what we have done, but do not hold it against us, grandfathers. We greet you, war-bundle owners. The life (blessings) that those who have gone before us had, the songs that they handed down to us, not in their manner will we be able to sing, but still, however it be, it will be (our best). It has been said that nothing will provoke you," grandfathers. Well, however, that is the way we will do it. I greet you." (Song.)

FILLING OF THE CEREMONIAL PIPE AND SMOKING RITUAL

First filling of the pipe.—After they have sung the first war-bundle song, then they get a pipeful of tobacco ready and place it near the war bundle, speaking as follows: "Our father who art above, for you the pipe is extended; up straight above it is placed." Up straight above it is extended to Earthmaker, they say. For that reason do they arrange the pipe in that way. Then when the songs are finished the attendant takes the pipe, lights it, and takes it with him to the left side, giving all the men in the lodge an opportunity to smoke. Women are not allowed to smoke. The tobacco in the pipe is entirely consumed as the pipe makes the circuit of the lodge and it is then filled again. 796^x
539^x
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[E62]

Second filling of the pipe.—Then there at the feast for the second time do they place (the pipe). When they are about to sing the

* That this spirit was not mentioned before is an oversight on the part of the informant.

* Substantial and ritualistic names for the Water-spirit. It may mean chief. The general name which we loosely translate "Water-spirit" is "Wak'gert."

* I. e., that no unnecessary nor ignorance on their part will anger the spirits and cause them to refrain from bestowing their blessings. This is, of course, an expression of ritualistic modesty, but I suspect that there is also a reference intended here to the fact that in these degenerate days not only are individuals no longer blessed as of yore, but certain details of the ceremony have been forgotten. I see no reason for giving too much weight to this last fact, but it may be hard to have it in mind.

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And a war-bundle owner for the second kettle should be called upon a kettle offered in connection with him whom we call Great Black Hawk. 796^x
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Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle placed for Disease-giver.

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the spirit whom they call South Wind.

Then they call for someone to take charge of the kettle for the Sun.

Then they also select another man to be in charge of a kettle put on for the Morning Star.²¹

Then the first one who had been called upon for a kettle takes as many pieces of food as there are individuals in his band who eat with him. The second one who had been called upon also takes enough pieces (for his band). 796^x
539^x
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Those who are going to eat the head have to wait.²²

Then all took enough pieces to suffice for their band.

Then they (the attendants) put the pieces of meat in plates and cut them up into small portions. Now all are in readiness for the meal. Only some of those in the lodge are called upon to eat the head. The plate of the others is filled with ordinary cuts (of meat). As many men and women as are present, for that many do they cut up the pieces of meat evenly and place them in the plate.

Only warriors are head eaters. Not to warriors do they give common pieces. Women and men who are not warriors can not take part in this head eating. Only men can take part in the head eating. They would not permit women to eat the head. However, those of the feasters who were warriors and had brought home war trophies would speak a good word for the trophy bearers, their sisters, their nieces, and their aunts,²³ and these would be allowed to sit in the midst of the head eaters. The sisters or the aunts, whatever women were allowed to sit among the head eaters, considered it a very great honor. Thus all were encouraged to do. [554
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Now (the preparations being finished) all are waiting for the meal and the host gets up and speaks.²⁴

"I greet you all. When it (the meat) gets into the plate, then it is the time to try to get the spirit's attention by singing. War-bundle owners, who are seated here, I greet you all." (Eating song.)

²¹ In the first division of the ritual seven kettles are prepared; in the second division, four.

²² The eating of the deer's head is the greatest honor that one can obtain in this ceremony, and only war-bundle owners are permitted to take part in it. [554
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²³ When a warrior returned from a successful war party with the first war honor, i. e., if he had counted coup first, he was given a warponn medicine, and this he presented to his oldest sister or to the daughters of his father's brother or mother's sister or to his mother's sister.

²⁴ This is the continuation of his speech that had been interrupted by the preparations for the meal. [531]

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Then another man to whom a kettle has been given gets ready to express his thankfulness and says:

Speech of sixth guest. "Host and members of your clan who are seated here, I send forth my greetings to you. To you also, war-bundle owners who are seated here, do I send forth my greetings. The members of this clan have often preached to me. My grandfather once told me the following: 'Some day there will be a dearth of people (for a feast). There they will offer tobacco to the spirits and as many pieces of meat as they eat that many will be holy. There also they will cook heads. Heads are not to be eaten by those wearing dresses (i. e., women). Women are not permitted to scatter their food in eating, we are told.'¹² Some day if they boil these holy pieces, the heads, they will be in need of people to invite to the feast. If they call upon you for one of the sacred pieces, even if at that time you had not yet obtained a war honor, if you had not counted coup,¹³ still if you offer up thanks to the spirits for anything; still more so, of course, if you had been able to count coup and you thanked them for all this, they will listen to you.'¹⁴ My grandfather told me, 'Thus they spoke to me,' he said, it is said, 'Little grandfather, the spirits up above gave (your ancestor) a war bundle to those of the Earth phratry. They gave them a mouth for speaking (in offering thanks), but they told him that it was forbidden to speak to outsiders about this matter. They gave them a mouth that they might speak to one another (i. e., members of the same clan)'.

"My father gave the information to me. For that reason, they told me, I am in a position to thank the spirits. One of the greatest of the spirits they have offered tobacco to, to one of the greatest of the spirits they have prayed. Tobacco, food, a sacred white buckskin, pleasing to their eyes, they have extended to them. With offerings of life¹⁵ they have asked for life. We have been asked to impersonate (the spirits), even although there are plenty of war-bundle owners. But the host is a relative of ours and therefore wishes me to live. A pitiable existence we had been living (until they saw to it) that we were brought into connection with life. Proud we are of it. For if they (the spirits) accept their gifts, we also will be able to utilize the life (obtained). Clan members, we did as we pleased here. It is good. Those preached to, the Morning Star,

¹² In eating the deer head and in the first eating contest the meat is devoted as food that the host is literally satisfied in the process of eating. Whether there is an implied warning that a man should not be found in the same clan as the women I do not know positively, but it is quite likely.

¹³ Literally, "a strike." The war coup counts are likened to the four limbs of the human body. As such they are always referred to.

¹⁴ The whole meaning of the speech up to the present is the following: Should they in the future want to give a feast and lack of the proper people cause them to call upon you, even if you had counted coup only once, the spirits would listen to you. And yet here I am and haven't even counted coup once and yet I have the authority to expect them to listen to me.

¹⁵ I. e., with offerings of deer and dogs.

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796x[562
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[782]

[264]

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[BAND]

THE CLAN WAR-BUNDLE YEASTS

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through, the buckskin is taken down, unrolled, and the thunder-buck-
 skin given to the band sitting opposite the host. The other buckskins
 are then distributed in rotation, except that the buckskin to Earth-
 maker is given to the guest who occupies the middle position in the
 lodge. All the guests remain standing with their unrolled buckskins,
 holding them by the sticks and keeping tobacco in their other hand,
 while the old man speaks to them and blows first upon a flute. Then,
 to the accompaniment of a gourd, he sings two songs. After that the
 buckskins are rolled up again in such a way that the markings remain
 visible, and hung up again on sticks that are placed near the individual
 invited guests, just west of the first fireplace. There they have a pole
 for Earthmaker, at whose foot the war bundle is placed and opened.
 Tobacco is then poured into the hands of each of the invited guests by
 the host. He offers tobacco especially for those individuals for whom
 he has prepared buckskins and kettles, asking each of them in turn
 for life and for victory on the warpath. When he finishes he pours
 some tobacco into the fire and some upon the war bundle. All the
 persons invited then, in turn, do the same. If the host has any chil-
 dren present in the lodge, he has them do the same. Children are
 always escorted by the attendant. The host now takes the gourds,
 drum, etc., and, remaining in his own place, sings different sets of
 songs. As often as he starts a new set, he blows upon his flute. The
 songs of the Thunderbird consist of eight starting songs, sung slowly,
 six dancing songs, etc. As soon as the dancing songs are begun, all
 the men in the lodge come around the war bundle and dance, blowing
 the flute, etc. Women may dance likewise, but they must remain in
 that part of the tent especially assigned to them.

Before the contents of the kettle are cooked the host sings four sets
 of songs. As soon as the first set has been started the attendants get
 as many pipes as possible and bring them to the war bundle. They
 also place there a large pipe with stem directed toward the west and
 a large pile of tobacco. These pipes are then passed back to the
 various guests in order to be smoked.

After the first set of songs is over the large pipe is taken and lit
 by one of the attendants and passed around the lodge, in ceremonial
 manner, each member taking a puff and passing it to the next one.
 When the songs to the Disease-giver are sung, the pipe is placed
 against the center pole with stem directed south. Before the Disease-
 giver songs are sung the story of their origin is told. At the end of
 the last of the initial songs the old man with tobacco in each hand
 says //o—o—o—/ He then pours tobacco into the fireplace. He is
 really presenting it to the Disease-giver. Then dancing songs are
 used as before. Usually dog meat is put in the kettle designed for
 the Disease-giver.

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[523]

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[712]

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RADIN

THE CLAN WAR-BUNDLE FEASTS

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you can do so, and the women likewise can join, because we have
rolled up our bundle. To the dog that we have here, an offering of
tobacco can be made." Thus speaking, he sings. After he has
finished the song, someone specially called upon gives the war
whoop, in which the rest join. In this manner they sing four times,
and the ceremony ends. They have a dog around whose neck they
tie a red rag, together with a bundle of tobacco, and to each of
whose limbs they also tie a bundle of tobacco. This dead dog is to
be placed wherever the bones that remain of the feast are buried,
generally under some tree. It is supposed that the dog will go
directly to the Disease-giver together with the tobacco and there
be taken over by him.

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[562]

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Notes on the Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast.—Informant, member
of the clan: Place of honor at the feast is given to the bravest
man present. Scalps, etc., are always brought to those keeping
the war bundle.

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Contents of bundle: Black hawk (main thing), two wolf tails,
buffalo tail, snake, weasel, three flutes—one red, one black, and one
blue.

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Black hawk used in time of war. If I were leading the war party
I would carry it and it would be able to fly. It had a small bundle
of medicine tied around the neck, on each wing and each leg. A red
flute always went with it.

The two wolf tails could be taken on any warpath. It gives an
individual the power of running. The medicine tied to it is to be
smearcd over the body in order to prevent fatigue. It is also used
in hunting.

[224]

Buffalo tail gives fleetness and indicates that the man received
strength from the buffalo spirit.

Weasel and snake could be put around the neck and worn over
the shoulders in times of war. Gives the power of these respective
animals in wiggling.

[225]

Flutes, blue in connection with the buffalo, red in connection
with the black hawk, and black in connection with the night spirits

[534]

THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST OF THE BEAR CLAN

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The people were about to go
on a hunt, it is said. They returned. Four deer had been killed.
And again they went, and this time three deer were killed. But it was
not sufficient, so they went out again, and when they returned it was
found that they had killed only three deer. "Well," they said, "this
will be all right. We have ten deer. Perhaps they will last as food
until dawn."

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They told the attendants to get ready the lodge and to build the
fireplaces. They told them also to have the wood and the buck-

In each village, the two civil chiefs, appoint all the officers, deemed necessary, civil and military, who obey them implicitly. There are two ways of arriving at these high stations, by birth and by election. When the father dies, if he has a son, who has arrived at the age of manhood, and who bids fair to make a good chief—that is, if he possesses a good form, has good bodily powers and mental faculties—is brave, sedate, wise and prudent, he generally succeeds his father in the government, on his father's demise. If the chief, at his death, leave no son who is qualified for the high office of chief, but wills it to some other person, he succeeds to the government. If the chief has no son at his death, it is commonly the case, that his brother's son succeeds him. The line of succession may run out for want of a lawful heir, which is always supplied by an election. It may be changed too, where the heir is unqualified for the station. Great deference is always paid to the will of the dying chief, but every such case is always laid before a full national council, whose decision is final (p. 97).

A chief may be degraded from his rank for bad conduct. . . .

There is in every tribe, what answers to a standing army among us. The profession of arms holds out, to the great mass of the common people, the only road to the temple of fame. . . . The young man, who aspires to the honorable distinction of a "brave" or warrior, must exhibit such traits of character, as are deemed necessary for a soldier to possess, before he can be admitted into the army. When admitted, he wears on his head just as many feathers of the bald eagle, as he has slain human beings, and the size of the feathers indicate the size of his victims. . . . If the warrior has taken a captive, he has a human hand as large as life, painted either on his face, or on some part of his body, or on his blanket, some individuals have several such hands painted upon them (p. 98).*

At the head of the army, belonging to each tribe, there is a person who occupies the same station as a General does with us, and he appoints all the inferior officers. The chiefs when met in council, call into it, their warriors, with whom they consult, but frequently they are called to receive the orders, which are obeyed to the letter. This council call before them, persons who are interested in the trial . . . (pp. 98, 99).

If the Senate of the United States is the mildest, the most patriotic and wisest legislative assembly in the civilized world, as it truly is, the Winnebago council, is decidedly at the head of the savage world. . . . The great body of the people have very little influence, almost none, with this council, and they never appear before it unless they are summoned to attend it.—They have no voice in electing the chiefs and in fact no political influence. The civil chiefs and the chief warriors, have in their hands, the whole government of the community, and they govern as they please. Disobedience to the orders of the rulers is punished with death, though, like the British nation, the Indians are not savages enough to cut the traitor into quarters after hanging him until he is dead (pp. 99, 100).

The female part of it, exercised the same influence among the women, that the chiefs did among the men, and the presents they expected from us, had to be better, than those given to the common people. The daughter of a chief, never mar-

* Quite different from the data given by Radin, *The Winnebago Tribe*, pp. 161, 162.

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ries into a family below her's in dignity. The pride originating in birth, is as deeply seated in the hearts of those who are nobly descended, among the natives of the Northwest, as it is among the petty princes of Germany.

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It is customary for the chiefs to appoint two soldiers, in each village to keep order in it, and they faithfully do so (p. 100).

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In each tribe, some one man acts as a divider, by order of the civil chiefs, and by general consent. Whenever we made the men any presents, of pipes, paints, tobacco, or any thing else, the self same men, if Winnebagoes were the Indians receiving the presents, appeared, took charge of the property, and divided it in the most equitable manner, among all present at the time. They reserved nothing for themselves, generally, but held up their empty hands to show their disinterestedness.

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If the Sauks and Foxes received presents, two men, one for each tribe, acted as dividers, and the same individuals always performed the same duty (pp. 100-101).

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... "The rolling Thunder," "the Yellow Thunder," "the Distant Thunder," &c., are individuals among the Winnebagoes, who possess great weight of character; and that tribe to which belong men, who stand high on their roll of fame, for their distinguished valor in War, for their consummate prudence, experience and wisdom in the national councils, is emphatically called, "the thunder tribe" (p. 124).

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There are other items appurtenant to Winnebago ethnology in Atwater's work; some to that of the Sauks and Foxes; some to tribes of the upper Mississippi valley in general: there are some acute statements regarding the chronology of the populating of America.

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A "turtle" gens does not occur in the lists of Morgan, Dorsey, and Radin, and Radin specifically denies that there is such a Winnebago gens. He also states that almost all informants claimed that the Snake and Fish clans (gentes) were recent to the tribe. However, as special names "go with" fixed gentes, by examining the lists of the signers of the treaties between the Winnebago and the United States, it becomes clear that a member of the Snake gens signed the treaty of August 19th, 1825 as well as the treaty of August 25th, 1828. And a Snake clan exists among the Ponca, Iowa, Oto-Missouri, Quapaw, as well as some non-Siouan tribes.¹⁰ Also it may be observed that among the Osage and Quapaw we have a Fish clan (used rather loosely). So too "Turtle" as the name of a gens (sub-gens) among the Siouan tribes Omaha, Kansa, Quapaw, and Osage,¹¹ and elsewhere. [551] And Carrymaunee (Karamanu, etc.), "Walking Turtle,"¹² signed more

¹⁰ See the important theoretical discussion by Lowie in *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 36, 1934, pp. 327-28; cf. also Radin, *the Winnebago Tribe*, p. 182; Fletcher and La Flesche, *The Omaha Tribe* (Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology), pp. 38, 39.

¹¹ Among the Omaha and Osage "the turtle carriers or bearers" and "Turtle-carriers" respectively; "Carries-a-turtle-on-his-back" among the Kansa: observe that according to the above Carrymaunee "carried" a large painted tortoise on his back.

¹² The phonetic restoration is presumably Kéramani; mani means "to walk," as can be seen from old vocabularies, etc., as well as the personal names given by Radin in his *The Winnebago Tribe* and the Winnebago text by Radin in the Siouan sketch in *Handbook of Ameri-*

796 other mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik, were respectively placed at the
778 northeast and southeast corners of the bundle.

[276] A peeled stake, forked at the top, was set up at the central western margin of the bundle wrapper. The ceremonial pipe, of Siouan type with a catlinite bowl, was then filled by the leader from the bowl of mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik and placed with the stem end resting in the fork of the stake, the stem slanting diagonally downward across the bundle and the bowl, in upright position, resting on the central eastern margin of the bundle wrapper.

[824] The leader then placed some live coals from the fire in a small stove-
783 shovel. On these coals he placed white cedar leaves. With the smoke of the burning cedar leaves he purified the contents of the bundle, his own person, and even the walls of the lodge.

796 Shortly before the ceremony was to start, some of the waiters pre-
534 pared the drum. What had probably been originally designed to serve as a pickle keg, served as the body of the drum. This was partly filled with water. A buckskin head was then placed over the open end and drawn taut by means of cords attached to the base of the body. This was done by means of stick tourniquets in each of the cords. The proper degree of tautness was determined by tipping the drum bottom side up, to permit the water to wet the drum head, and testing the tone quality with the drum stick. After the drum had been thus properly tuned, more hot coals were placed in the censer, cedar leaves applied and the drum and stick turned over and over in the resulting smoke. Then the drum was placed just north of the war-bundle.

A small pot containing two portions of cooked meat was suspended from the roof of the house immediately west of the bundle.

796 Early in the afternoon, all preparations having been completed, the ceremony began. The guests in little groups filed into the lodge and were seated by the head waiter, squatting on mats with their backs to the wall. The most important guests, owners of war-bundles in other clans, were placed nearest the door. The eastern two-thirds of the lodge was occupied by men only. The women were clustered at the western end. Mr. Fisher and I were seated immediately south of the bundle. The leader and three assistants, elected to serve as musicians, were grouped just north of the fireplace.

[562] Although the rites associated with the war-bundle are kept up by
[82] a few of these Winnebago, the ritual has sadly degenerated. Aside from the host, no man made any serious attempt to equip himself properly in costume. Many important elements were omitted such as the preliminary sweat bath ceremony, the sacrifice of white buckskins to the spirits, the dog sacrifice, and many minor details left out of the ceremonies attempted. When all were assembled, the leader opened the ceremony with a speech to those assembled. The formal dignity of the speaker and the unhesitating flow of his words were impressive. He

[537]

796 from the sacred fire. When the pipe was well lit, the waiter carried
276 it to the next man, and so on, passing clockwise about the lodge. Each
man puffed several times at the pipe before passing it on. The women
[562] were excluded from participating in this ceremony, as were the leader
and his three musicians. The waiters did not actually participate in
any part of the entire ceremony, other than in their official capacity.

Before the next song was started, the head waiter carefully cleaned
out the pipe, refilled it and placed it again over the bundle. All the
tobacco cleaned from the bowl was disposed of in the sacred fire.

This same procedure, from speech to pipe, was repeated four times,
although each group of songs was different.

796 Two men were now selected, one representing that group of clans
615 comprising the upper world phratry, the other the lower world phratry.
264 They seated themselves in the center of the lodge with a wooden bowl
between them. In this bowl were placed the two portions of meat from
the pots suspended from the lodge ceiling. At a given signal, each began
to devour his allotted share of the meat as rapidly as possible. The
phratry whose side wins in this eating contest will have good luck when
next it takes the warpath.

796 The leader then told the dream experience of the original bundle
787 holder and said a few words thanking all for their participation. One
of the waiters then proceeded to replace the contents of the bundle, roll
it up, tie it and place it against the wall just back of the leader.

796 It was now time for the war-bundle feast, which consisted solely of
574 meat boiled with a few beans. Each pot had been dedicated to a cer-
tain spirit or order of spirits, but since these were not materially present
to do proper justice to the occasion, the honored guests had to repre-
sent them in receiving and disposing of the food. One pot was placed
before each of these leaders, and the contents were distributed under his
direction to the men of his party. Other meat was supplied for the
women and children of the group which he represented. The chief
honored guest received the pot dedicated to Creator. On such occasions,
one must eat all that is set before him, since the food is consecrated.

574 It should be noted here that Mr. Fisher has certain marked tastes in
114 food. He is not particularly fond of meat of any kind, dislikes beef
particularly and dislikes boiled beef the most of all. His predicament
can well be imagined, therefore, when a large portion of boiled beef
was placed before him with the understanding that none must be wasted.
Fortunately, one may broadcast a call for outside help on such occasions
without trespassing against the rules of the ceremony. Very piteously,
then, did Fisher make his plea to me. Knowing that the night spirit
dance with a vegetable feast was to follow, he promised to eat the greater
share of the vegetables apportioned to us if I would agree to do double
duty on the meat. Out of the kindness of my heart, and also because I
prefer boiled beef to boiled dried squash, I agreed to do this. Nor did

Crashing Thunder

* 159 There my elder
787 brother and myself were to pass the night. It was
said that if any one fasted at such a place for four
nights, he would be blessed with victory and the power
to cure the sick. All the spirits would bless him.

[776] We were told the following would happen to us. On
the first night we would imagine ourselves surrounded
by spirits whose whisperings we would hear outside of
the lodge. The spirits would even whistle. I was told
that I would be frightened and nervous and that if I
still remained there, I would be molested by large mon-
sters, fearful to look upon. Even the bravest man
might well be frightened. Should I, however, manage
to get through that night I would then on the following
night be molested by ghosts whom I would hear speak-
[775] ing outside. These ghosts would say things that might
well cause me to run away. Towards morning I was
told these ghosts would even take my blanket away
from me. They would grab hold of me and drive me
out of the lodge and not stop until the sun rose. If I
[776] was able to endure a third night, then I would be ad-
dressed by the true spirits. They would bless me and
say, "We bless you. We had really intended to turn
you over to the monsters and bad spirits and that is
why these approached you first, but you overcame
them and now they will not be able to take you away.
Now you may go home for we bless you with victory

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[619] individual esteemed for his bravery. The power of this war-bundle
[841] was such that it would kill anything or anybody who approached
[562] it, the only exception being a menstruating woman. For this reason
the war-bundle was always carefully guarded and protected and
women were not allowed to see it or come anywhere near it.

§7. *The Teachings of My Father*

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[867]
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● [562]

My father used to keep up the old habit of teaching us the customs of the Winnebago. He would wake us up early in the morning and, seated around the fire-place, speak to us. The girls would be taught separately. Now this is what my father told me:

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My son, when you grow up, see to it that you are of some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in which you can aid them and that is by fasting. Our grandfather, the Fire, he who stands at all times in the center of our dwelling, sends forth all kinds of blessings. Be sure that you make an attempt to obtain his.

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My son, do you remember to have our grandfathers, the war chiefs,¹⁴ bless you. See to it that they have compassion upon you. Then some day as you travel along the road of life, you will know what to do and encounter no obstacles. Without any effort will you then be able to gain the prize you desire. The honor will be yours to glory in, yours without exertion. All the disposable war-blessings belong to our grandfathers, the war-controllers, and if reverently you fast and thirst yourself to death, then these will be bestowed upon you. Yet if you do not wear out your feet in frequent journeyings to and fro, if you do not blacken your face with charcoal, it will be all for naught that you

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¹⁴ Symbolical name for all those spirits who were supposed to be in control of war powers.

The Teachings of My Father

inflict this suffering upon yourself. Not without constant effort are these blessings procurable. Try to have one of the spirits created by Earthmaker take pity on you. Whatever he says will come about. If you do not possess one of the spirits from whom to obtain strength and power, you will be of no consequence socially and those around you will show you little respect. Indeed they will jeer at you. 159*
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My son, it is not good to die in the village; in your homes. Above all, do not let women journey to the spirit land ahead of you. It is not done. To prevent this from happening do we speak to our sons and encourage them to fast. Some day in life you will find yourself traveling along a road filled with obstacles and then you will wish you had fasted. When such an event confronts you, that you may not find it necessary to reproach yourself, I counsel you to fast. If you have not obtained any knowledge from the spirits, why it may happen that some day, in later life, warriors will be returning from the warpath and as they distribute the war prizes to their sisters,¹⁸ your own sisters will stand there empty-handed envying the rest. But if you obtain blessings from the war-controllers, your sisters will be happy. How proud they will be to receive the prizes, to wear them, and to dance the victory dancel Your sisters too will be strengthened thereby and you will be content and happy. 159*
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Now all this it would be well for you to obtain. Try to 000

¹⁸ Among the Winnebago a man's sisters, especially his elder sisters, were very highly respected and all war prizes, such as wampum-belts, wampum necklaces, etc., were always given to them whenever a man returned from a successful war-party in which he had secured some honor. These war honors were of various kinds. The greatest was considered to be the feat of having struck the body of a dead enemy first. [562]
[721]

Crashing Thunder

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you will never be in need of anything. Fast for the food you are to receive. If you fast frequently enough for these things then some day when your children ask for food they will be able to obtain a piece of deer meat without difficulty; they may indeed be able to obtain a piece of moose meat. It lies within your power to prevent your children from ever going hungry.

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Now again, my son, let me enjoin you. Do not abuse your wife. Women are sacred. If you make your wife suffer, then you will die in a short time. Our grandmother Earth is a woman, and in abusing your wife you are abusing her. Most certainly will you be abusing your grandmother if you act thus. Since after all it is she who is taking care of us, by your action you will be practically killing yourself.

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When you have your home, see to it that whoever enters your lodge obtain something to eat, no matter how little you yourself may have. Such food will be a source of death to you if withheld. If you are stingy about giving food, some one might kill you in consequence; some one may poison you. If you ever hear of a stranger passing through your country and you want to see him, prepare food for him and have him brought to you. In this manner you will be doing good and it is always good to do good, it is said.

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If you see a helpless old person, help him if you have anything at all. If you happen to possess a home take him there, and feed him, for he may suddenly make uncomplimentary remarks about you.¹⁸ You will be strengthened thereby. Or perhaps when he comes, he may bring with him under his arms a medicine bundle, something he cher-

[574] ¹⁸ It is considered exceedingly bad form for a guest to admire anything in the house he is visiting.
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Crashing Thunder

*159 helped will then really know what kind of a man you are.
577 For the good you do people will love you.

869 It is not good to win at gambling. You may possibly
[525] become rich thereby but that is no life to lead. If you
are blessed with luck in cards, if you are blessed with
luck at gambling, you will perhaps win things and have
plenty of wealth, but none of your children will live.

Now if you do all that I have told you, you will lead a
happy and prosperous life. That is why we Winnebago
preach to a child we love so that it should never become
acquainted with the things that are not right, and never do
anything wrong. Then if, in later life, a person does any
thing wrong, he will do it with a clear knowledge of the
consequences of his actions.

III

*159 My son, when you get married, do not make an idol of
581 the woman you marry; do not worship her. If you worship
869 a woman she will insist upon greater and greater worship as
time goes on. This is what the old people used to say.
562 They always preached against those men who hearken too
593 strongly to the words of women; who are the slaves of
women. Now it may happen that a man has received many
warnings as to his behavior in this regard and that he pays
no attention to them. It may go so far that when he is
asked to attend a war-bundle feast²⁰ he will refuse to go;
it may be that when he is married he will listen to the voice

[126]
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[176] ²⁰ The war-bundle feast was the great war ceremony of the Winne-
bago. It was given by all those individuals who possessed a war-
bundle and since theoretically there was only one war-bundle in each
clan, the basis of the organization of the ceremony was the clan.
The ceremony consisted largely of prayers, songs and speeches in
honor of the spirits more definitely associated with war. For each

The Teachings of My Father

of his wife and refuse to go on a warpath. He might as well have been brought up as a girl. Men who are real men perform the deeds of men, but such a man will never perform a real man's deed. If he should actually attend a war-bundle feast he will be given the leanest piece of meat, only given to a man of no account. Why should any one run the risk of being thus jeered at? Now when a really brave man attends a war-bundle feast he is given a deer's head. This other man gets a lean piece! It will dry up in his throat, so humiliated and disgraced will he feel. After a while he will not be allowed to go to any feast; his wife will not let him. He will listen to the voice of his wife. His relatives will scold him, his sisters will think nothing of him. They will tell people never to go to visit him. Finally when he has become a real slave of his wife he will even hit his relatives if she asks him to. It is for these reasons that I warn you not to listen to women. You will be considered different from others. It is not good.

Remember this too, that women cannot be watched. If you try to watch them and are jealous about them, then your female relatives will also be jealous of them. Finally when your jealousy has developed to the highest pitch, your wife will leave you and run away with some one else. You have allowed her to see by your actions that you worship a woman, and one alone, and, in addition, you have been watching her all the time. Because of this incessant annoyance she will run away from you. If you think that

of these spirits, a buckskin decorated with the symbol sacred to the spirit, was prepared and then at the most dramatic moment of the ceremony these buckskins were thrown out of the ceremonial lodge and it was believed that the spirits came down in person to fetch them. The war-bundle feast was specifically a man's ceremony.

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Crashing Thunder

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your wife is the only one to love, you have humbled yourself and she will be taken from you. You have likewise made the woman suffer; you have made her unhappy. The whole world will hear about it. No other woman will want to marry you and you will have the reputation of being a bad man.

[57]
[92]
Now you may act in the following way: You see people starting on a warpath and you join them knowing that it is an honor to die on the warpath. But you will join them because you feel unhappy at your wife's flight. Now this is not the proper way to act. You are throwing away your life; you are causing the leader of the war-party to throw away a life. If you want to go on the warpath, do not go because your wife has been taken away from you, go because you feel courageous enough to do so.

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[82]
It is on the warpath that a man has fun! Do not go, however, unless you have fasted adequately. You must fast for each specific warpath. If you do not and yet join a war-party, then in the midst of the fight, a bullet will come your way and kill you. That will happen because you did not fast. If you have performed any deeds of valor, recount them to your sisters and to your sister's children. Those in charge of war-bundles are good to listen to in such matters. Those to whom such people give advice will eat an excellent dish; they will have the [554] honor of sitting near a great warrior in the middle of the lodge.

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These are the things of which the old people spoke and this also is the advice I give you. I myself never asked for these things, but my father did. Your grandfather did. He asked for the information relating to the manner in which people are to behave. Never, when you are older, should you allow yourself to get in the predicament of not

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[787] and clairvoyance, and thinks they have had
[346] them for centuries. They use a long and
[346] large lodge a [blank] prepared for the
purpose, in which all those allowed to wit-
ness the ceremonies are assembled. Adjoin-
[343] ing this house is a bark tent built in a conical
form as a steam house. They excavate a
hole in the ground, heat large stones in a
fire to a great heat, and then put them in
this hole, and cover them over and seat the
initiate over them. He is then covered
around with blankets so that none of the
steam may escape, after which water is
poured on the stones and the neophyte is
enveloped in a roasting steam bath. This is
[783] the first act, and the object is to steam all
[776] evil spirits out of him.

He is then led in to the house, after the
steaming process in some instances has
been repeated once or twice. He is then
blindfolded and led around the house. Pres-
[534] ently the singers beat the drum, shake the
rattles, and commence singing a tune; then
commences the dance, which is joined in
by all present who wish to do so. The wom-
• [562] en are members of the medicine lodge as
well as the men, and they join in the songs
and in the dance. After the dancing is
done, or perhaps he may have stood in the
midst of it there is a suspension of all sing-
[756] ing and dancing. Several medicine men
then advance towards the neophyte, point-
ing their medicine bags at him, then draw-
ing them back. This advancing and reced-
ing and ejaculating certain words calculated
to work up the mind of the novitiate into a
regular phrenzy.

Presently they reach him when they hit
their medicine bags against his body, he
still being blindfolded and at the same time
uttering a shrill exclamation. The Judge
[158] said the novitiate jumped up and fell flat on
his face as if dead and that apparently with-
[P. 60(B)]